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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

IM/IPS/CR/IR

Date: 9/17/97

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E.O. 12065: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SP, US

SUBJECT: US-SPANISH RELATIONS: CAMBIO 16 ARTICLE

- CRITICIZES US

1. SUMMARY: CAMBIO 16, SPAIN'S LEADING NEWS MAGAZINE, HIT THE STANDS WITH ITS MARCH 16 EDITION ON SATURDAY, MARCH 14. THE COVER CARRIES A PICTURE OF PRESIDENT REAGAN WITH THE HEADLINE, IN LARGE WHITE TYPE OVER THE PICTURE, "TEJERO'S COUP; REAGAN WASHED HIS HANDS." INSIDE THERE IS AN EDITORIAL, WHICH SAYS THAT SPAIN IS STILL ISOLATED IN THE WORLD AND THAT THE U.S. IS SO UNTRUSTWORTHY THAT SPAIN SHOULD JOIN NATO; AND A FIVE PAGE ARTICLE WHICH THROUGH AN ASSORTMENT OF HALF-TRUTHS SAYS THAT THE U.S. KNEW ABOUT THE COUP, DIDN'T TELL THE SPANISH, AND THAT THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT IS FURIOUS OVER THE LUKE-WARM REACTION TO THE ATTEMPTED COUP BY THE U.S. THERE IS ALSO A VICIOUS PERSONAL ATTACK ON AMBASSADOR TODMAN. SEE SEPTTEL FOR BRIEF UNCLASSIFIED

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COMMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. THE EMBASSY WILL POUCH A COPY OF CAMBIO 16 TO THE DEPARTMENT. IN THE MEANTIME WE INCLUDE HERE EXTENSIVE EXCERPTS FROM THE ARTICLE AND THE EDITORIAL.

3. THE ARTICLE ITSELF IS HEADLINED "REAGAN WASHED HIS HANDS" WITH A SUB-HEAD, "THE U.S. PRESIDENT ACTED LIKE PILATE IN THE TEJERO DRAMA."

4. THE ARTICLE BEGINS BY SAYING "DURING THE NEARLY 24 HOURS (DURING WHICH THE ATTEMPTED COUP TOOK PLACE) THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN, ELECTED IN NOVEMBER 1980, BEHAVIOR WAS SO LUKEWARM ABOUT THE

COUP THAT...THIS BEHAVIOR COULD CONDITION IN PART THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MADRID AND WASHINGTON FOR THE NEXT MONTHS, PRECISELY WHEN THE AMERICANS HAVE TO RENEGOTIATE THE MILITARY TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH SPAIN...

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5. "DIPLOMATIC SOURCES HAVE REVEALED THAT THE UNHAPPINESS OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT WAS MADE CLEAR TO THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION...BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND BY THE MONCLOA PALACE."

6. "AFTER THE SPANISH PROTEST, TERENCE TODMAN, FIFTY-FOUR YEARS OLD, A MAN OF COLOR, TALL AND BALD, AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES IN SPAIN SINCE SEPTEMBER OF 1978, TOOK A PLANE AND HEADED FOR WASHINGTON TO INFORM THE AUTHORITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE OF THE SPANISH POSITION AND THE CURRENT ATMOSPHERE IN OFFICIAL SPHERES IN MADRID..."

7. THE ARTICLE SAYS THAT THE FIRST REACTION CAME FROM UNCLASSIFIED

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THE UNITED STATES AT 4:30 PM WASHINGTON TIME, 10:30 PM MADRID TIME. IT POINTS OUT THAT THE FIRST NEWS FLASHES PRODUCED "REAL STUPOR" IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE WHITE HOUSE AND THAT A PERMANENT PHONE LINE WAS OPENED UP WITH THE EMBASSY TO FOLLOW THE DEVELOPMENTS. "THE FIRST NORTHAMERICAN REACTION TO THE MILITARY REBELLION, NONETHELESS, CAME FOUR AND A HALF HOURS LATER, WHEN IN MADRID IT WAS 10:30 AT NIGHT AND 4:30 IN WASHINGTON." THE ARTICLE CONTINUES BY SAYING THAT SECRETARY OF STATE HAIG WAS JUST ENDING A LONG TALK WITH THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER AT THAT TIME. "TACKLED BY A GROUP OF JOURNALISTS, GENERAL HAIG AFFIRMED, AT THE END OF THE INTERVIEW WITH HIS FRENCH COLLEAGUE, THAT 'WE ARE FOLLOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS CAREFULLY AND IT APPEARS THAT IT IS AN INTERNAL QUESTION.'" (NOTE: THE ARTICLE HAS THE LAST TWO WORDS IN ITALICS.)

8. "THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE MOUTH OF ITS MAXIMUM REPRESENTATIVE ON FOREIGN POLICY, GAVE THE FIRST PROOF THAT IT WASHED ITS HANDS, THAT THE SUBJECT OF DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN WAS AN EXCLUSIVELY INTERNAL SUBJECT FOR THE SPANISH. LATER, AND FACED WITH THE SPANISH PROTESTS ABOUT THE FIRST U.S. REACTION, THE NORTHAMERICAN ADMINISTRATION EXCUSED ITSELF BY CITING THE DIFFERENCE IN TIME AND THE ABSENCE OF RESPONSIBLE INFORMATION ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS."

9. THE ARTICLE THEN CITES OFFICIAL U.S. SOURCES WHO SAID THAT THE SECRETARY MADE HIS FIRST STATEMENT WHEN HE BARELY HAD ANY INFORMATION BECAUSE HE WAS JUST LEAVING A MEETING WITH FRANCOIS-PONCET, AND AT A TIME WHEN ALL THE INFORMATION POINTED TO A COUP IN WHICH ONLY TEJERO

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AND MILANS DEL BOSCH WERE INVOLVED.

10. THE ARTICLE GOES ON TO SAY, "IN ANY CASE, NORTH-AMERICAN SOURCES WERE INTERESTED IN INSISTING THAT THE U.S. POSTURE TOWARD THE SPANISH DEMOCRACY SHOULD NOT BE LOOKED FOR IN THE FIRST DECLARATION OF GENERAL HAIG BUT RATHER IN THE PHONE CONVERSATION WHICH TOOK PLACE DAYS BEFORE BETWEEN PRESIDENT REAGAN AND THE KING OF SPAIN, DON JUAN CARLOS." THE ARTICLE EVEN COMPLAINS ABOUT THAT, HOWEVER, SAYING THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT CALLED THE KING IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE INAUGURATION...IT DOES GO ON TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT "REAGAN EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD NOT MAINTAINED CONTACT WITH THE SPANISH CROWN BECAUSE HE HAD HOPED TO RECEIVE THE KING AT THE BEGINNING OF FEBRUARY IN THE WHITE HOUSE, IN THE FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT OF A FOREIGN CHIEF OF STATE TO WASHINGTON AFTER THE ENTRANCE OF THE NEW REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION."

11. "ACCORDING TO NORTHEAMERICAN SOURCES, IN THIS TELEPHONE CONVERSATION, WHICH TOOK PLACE TEN DAYS BEFORE THE COUP, REAGAN HAD ASSURED THE SPANISH MONARCH OF HIS  
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SUPPORT FOR THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION WHATEVER THE ADVERSE CONDITIONS THAT SPAIN MIGHT HAVE TO PASS THROUGH IN THE FUTURE." ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE THE KING DREW ON THIS PHONE CONVERSATION DURING THE NIGHT OF FEBRUARY 23 IN HIS TALKS WITH THE CAPTAINS GENERAL.

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12. "NONETHELESS, THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES MUST HAVE BEEN UNCLEAR WHEN THE EX-PRIME MINISTER OF SPAIN, ADOLFO SUAREZ, ... ANNULLED THE MEETING WITH THE NORTH-AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE HAIG WHICH HAD BEEN SET UP BY THE U.S. EMBASSY IN MADRID. THE MEETING, CAREFULLY PREPARED BY WASHINGTON'S AMBASSADOR IN MADRID, TERENCE TODMAN, A WEEK EARLIER, HAD TO BE CANCELLED BECAUSE OF THE CATEGORICAL REFUSAL OF ADOLFO SUAREZ TO MAINTAIN ANY CONTACT WITH THE HIGHEST FIGURE OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. THE ARGUMENT USED BY EX-PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ WAS THAT THE BEHAVIOR OF HAIG HAD NOT BEEN VERY CLEAR DURING THE DRAMATIC NIGHT OF FEBRUARY 23, AND THAT HIS FIRST REACTION TO THE COUP D'ETAT, AFTER KNOWING ABOUT THE ASSAULT ON THE CONGRESS, DID NOT CORRESPOND TO THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN TWO POLITICAL AND MILITARY ALLIES."

13. "OFFICIAL NORTHAMERICAN SOURCES, ANNOYED BY THE REACTION OF THE EX-PRIME MINISTER AND BY THE DEFIANT STANCE (DESPLANTE) TOWARD AUTHORITIES OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, DECLARED TO CAMBIO 16 THAT ONLY THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE OF ADOLFO SUAREZ, TIRED AND FED UP (AGOTADO), AFTER FIVE YEARS IN OFFICE, COULD EXPLAIN WHAT HAD HAPPENED."

14. THE ARTICLE THEN CITES THE PSOE REACTION AND GOES INTO CONSIDERABLE DETAIL ABOUT FELIPE GONZALEZ'S MEETING WITH LUIGI EINAUDI. "GONZALEZ MARQUES, IN A UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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HARD AND CUTTING TONE, AFFIRMED TO EINAUDI (SIC) THAT THE FIRST ATTITUDE OF GENERAL HAIG WAS INTOLERABLE; INTOLERABLE TOWARD A COUNTRY ALLIED WITH THE UNITED STATES WHICH LOOKS TO GUARANTEE ITS LIBERTY THROUGH PACIFIC AND DEMOCRATIC MEANS, AND INADMISSABLE IN THE MOST DRAMATIC CIRCUMSTANCE LIVED BY THE SPANISH DEMOCRACY SINCE THE DEATH OF GENERAL FRANCO."

15. THE ARTICLE CONTINUES DESCRIBING OTHER REACTIONS. "SIX DAYS AFTER TAKING OFFICE, LEOPOLDO CALVO-SOTELO, NEW PRIME MINISTER OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT, CALLED TO HIS OFFICE IN THE MONCLOA, THE AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES IN MADRID, TERENCE TODMAN, AND MET WITH HIM FOR HALF AN HOUR...CALVO-SOTELO EXPRESSED TO TERENCE TODMAN, AS REPRESENTATIVE OF HIS COUNTRY IN SPAIN, THE UNEASINESS WHICH THE LUKEWARM AMERICAN ATTITUDE HAD CAUSED IN MADRID...THE WAY IN WHICH THE MEETING WAS CELEBRATED MUST NOT HAVE BEEN GREETED VERY WELL BY THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION. THE DAY AFTER IT TERENCE TODMAN WAS RECALLED TO WASHINGTON TO CARRY OUT CONSULTATIONS WITH HIS GOVERNMENT, A DECISION WHICH THE UNITED STATES DIDN'T EVEN TAKE AT THE END OF 1975 WHEN THE LAST FRANCO GOVERNMENT SHOT FIVE TERRORISTS AND THE MAJORITY OF WESTERN COUNTRIES WITHDREW PROVISIONALLY OR CALLED HOME FOR CONSULTATIONS THEIR AMBASSADORS."

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16. THE ARTICLE GOES ON TO SAY THAT THE LETTERS FROM SECRETARY OF STATE HAIG TO FOREIGN MINISTER PEREZ LLORCA AND FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE (SIC) TO PRIME MINISTER CALVO-SOTELO DID NOT DISSIPATE THE BAD HUMOR OF THE SPANISH AUTHORITIES. "AS A CONSEQUENCE, NINE DAYS AFTER THE FAILED MILITARY ATTEMPT, THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES HAD TO COME TO THE RESCUE (SALIR AL PASO) TO

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TRY AND PULL THE CHESTNUTS OUT OF THE FIRE (SACAR DEL ATOLLEDERO) FOR RONALD REAGAN'S ADMINISTRATION, WHICH DIDN'T ACT WITH FIRMNESS AND ENERGY FROM THE BEGINNING, CONDEMNING WITH HARSHNESS AND VIGOR THE COUP..." THE ARTICLE CLAIMS THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION WAS WRITTEN "THE DAY BEFORE" AT A DINNER AT THE SPANISH EMBASSY AT WHICH SUAREZ, NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS ADVISOR ALLEN, AND VARIOUS SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN, INCLUDING HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ZABLOCKI, WERE PRESENT. EXCERPTS FROM THE RESOLUTION ARE PUBLISHED.

17. FINALLY, THE JOINT US-GERMAN STATEMENT ON SPAIN IS CITED BUT, SAYS THE ARTICLE, "THE NORTHAMERICAN CONGRATULATIONS...DID NOT SATISFY A GREAT PART OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF DEPUTIES...'SOMETHING LIKE THIS HAS TO HAPPEN' SAID ONE UCD DEPUTY TO CAMBIO 16, 'TO KNOW THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF FRIENDLY COUNTRIES IN THE OPPORTUNE MOMENT AND NOT WHEN

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ALL THE DANGER HAS PASSED AND THE ONLY THING THAT REMAINS  
IS A BITTER MEMORY."

18. THE ARTICLE THEN TURNS TO THE CIA. "THE MOST WORRYING THING OF ALL THIS...IS THAT THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY HAD INFORMATION SINCE LAST JANUARY THAT 'SOMETHING REALLY BIG' WAS BEING PREPARED IN SPAIN AND DID NOT INFORM LOCAL AUTHORITIES, MAYBE BECAUSE THE MADRID STATION OF THE CIA DIDN'T AFFORD IT MUCH IMPORTANCE, OR BECAUSE THEY THOUGHT THAT THE SPANISH SECRET SERVICES WERE UP ON THE SITUATION IN THE BARRACKS." THE ARTICLE SAYS THAT THE INFORMATION CAME TO THE CIA THROUGH U.S. MILITARY MEN THROUGHOUT SPAIN, "FULLY INTRODUCED INTO THE SPANISH ARMIES THROUGH THE TREATY OF COOPERATION AND FRIENDSHIP..."

19. THE ARTICLE ALSO CLAIMS THAT INSTRUCTIONS WERE GIVEN TO BEEF UP VIGILANCE AT U.S. MILITARY INSTALLATIONS AND THAT AMERICAN STUDENTS ATTENDING SPANISH SCHOOLS WERE TOLD TO TRY AND GET HOME EARLY IN THE DAYS BEFORE THE COUP.

20. "IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN SPAIN HAS A BROAD KNOWLEDGE OF THE IDEOLOGY AND THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE SPANISH MILITARY. WELLES STABLER, PREDECESSOR OF TERENCE TODMAN UNTIL MARCH 13, 1978...TOLD CAMBIO 16 THAT THIS WAS SO...STABLER TOLD THIS MAGAZINE THAT HE WASN'T SURPRISED THAT GENERAL ALFONSO ARMADA HAD RAISED ARMS AGAINST THE DEMOCRACY AND THE KING, AND REVEALED, 'I HAD HIM INCLUDED ON MY LIST OF SUSPECTS IN THE COUP.'"

21. THEN THE ARTICLE PROCEEDS TO ZERO IN ON AMBASSADOR  
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TODMAN. "WHETHER OR NOT THE CIA KNEW, ALTHOUGH ALL THE INDICATIONS ARE THAT THEY DID, WHAT DOES SEEM TO BE CERTAIN IS THAT THE INDIFFERENT AND IRRESOLUTE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE FIRST MOMENTS OF THE MILITARY ATTEMPT COULD HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY THE EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES IN MADRID, TERENCE TODMAN, WHO BY HIS CONFUSED AND UNCLEAR BEHAVIOR HAD LOST THE CONFIDENCE OF SPANISH AUTHORITIES."

22. "TODMAN A MAN OF 1.9 METERS TALL, OF BLACK SKIN, WAS BORN FIFTY-FOUR YEARS AGO IN THE VIRGIN ISLANDS. HE SPEAKS ALMOST PERFECT SPANISH SINCE HE WAS EDUCATED IN PUERTO RICO WHERE HE LIVED BEFORE BEING AMBASSADOR TO CHAD (AFRICA) AND IN COSTA RICA (SOUTH AMERICA). THAT IS WHERE HE WAS AT THE BEGINNING OF 1978 WHEN HE WAS CALLED BY EX-PRESIDENT CARTER TO TAKE CAHRGE OF THE POLICY OF "HUMAN RIGHTS" FOR LATIN AMERICA."

23. "INSTEAD OF MAKING THAT POLICY TERENCE TODMAN UNMADE IT AND DEDICATED HIMSELF TO PRAISING THE BANANA DICTATORS OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE SOUTHERN CONE. THE ARTICLE CITES AN ALLEGED QUOTE OF THE AMBASSADOR'S PRAISING VIDELA, AND CLAIMS THAT THE AMBASSADOR'S ATTITUDE PUT HIM IN A CONFRONTATION WITH FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS VANCE AND DEPUTY SECRETARY WARREN CHRISTOPHER, AND THAT IS WHY HE WAS SENT TO SPAIN. "HIS OLD LOVE FOR AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES, ESPECIALLY FOR THE LATIN AMERICAN DICTATORSHIPS, HAS MADE MORE THAN ONE OBSERVER THINK THAT THE NORTHAMERICAN DELAY IN REJECTING THE FAILED COUP D'ETAT COULD BE DUE TO AN 'INVOLUNTARY' DELAY BY TERENCE TODMAN IN KEEPING THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE INFORMED ABOUT THE EVENTS IN SPAIN."

24. "IN THIS CONNECTION, IT SHOULD BE HIGHLIGHTED THAT

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WHEN SECRETARY OF STATE ALEXANDER HAIG MADE HIS FIRST DECLARATION ABOUT THE MILITARY ATTEMPT, HE SAID TO JOURNALISTS THAT HE COULD NOT ADOPT A MORE ENERGETIC APPROACH BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF KNOWLEDGE HE HAD AT THAT TIME ABOUT THE EVENTS."

25. THE ARTICLE THEN CITES A THEME WHICH IS FAST BECOMING A MADRID FAVORITE--THAT THE U.S. "ATTITUDE" IS ESPECIALLY INEXPLICABLE SINCE WE ARE THE ONLY COUNTRY WITH WHICH SPAIN HAS A TREATY OF "MUTUAL DEFENSE" (SIC).

26. THE ARTICLE WINDS UP BY SAYING, "THE REACTION OF WASHINGTON...HAS DISQUIETED SPANISH POLITICIANS WHO HAD HOPED THAT THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WOULD BE INTRANSIGENT

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TOWARD COMMUNISM AND A ZEALOUS GUARDIAN AT THE SAME TIME,  
OF THE LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY OF THE WEST. FACED WITH  
THE LUKEWARM ATTITUDE, THE REACTION OF FELIPE GONZALEZ,  
SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY OF  
SPAIN, HAS BEEN ELOQUENT. THE PSOE WILL NOT ACT AS A  
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MEDIATOR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AMERICA  
UNTIL THE REAGAN GOVERNMENT GIVES CLEAR SIGNS THAT IT WILL  
ACT IN THE NAME OF LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS."

27. THE ATTENDANT EDITORIAL ON THE SUBJECT CRITICIZES  
BOTH EAST AND WEST FOR THEIR ATTITUDE AND SAYS THAT  
EVERYONE WANTS SPAIN TO RETURN TO THE GHETTO FROM WHICH  
IT CAME. THIS ATTITUDE BY THE "TWO EMPIRES" OF THE  
EAST AND THE WEST REQUIRES TWO THINGS: FIRST TO  
RECOGNIZE THAT THE WORST ENEMIES OF A STRONG SPANISH  
FATHERLAND ARE THOSE HYSTERICS WHO WANT TO RETURN SPAIN  
TO THE GHETTO, AND SECOND THAT THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP  
WITH THE U.S. IS NOT THE BEST FORM OF GUARANTEEING  
SPANISH LIBERTY AND STRENGTH. RATHER, SPAIN SHOULD  
ENTER INTO NATO IMMEDIATELY TO GUARANTEE THE NECESSARY  
COLLABORATION WITH THE WEST.

28. THE LONG ARTICLE ALSO HAS TWO BOXES--ONE CITES  
QUOTES FROM OTHER SPANISH NEWSPAPERS ABOUT THE U.S.  
ATTITUDE (NONE OF THEM GOOD) AND THE SECOND GIVING THE  
U.S. EMBASSY SIDE OF THE STORY. BARBOUR

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